## SLAVERY AND MISSIONS.

TO ALL CHRISTIANS IN THE UNITED STATES.

Dear Brethren,-It is your daily prayer that the GOSPEL may be preached to " every creature," by which you mean, that its blessings may be extended to all mankind, white, brown and black, and as the Old Testament people used to say, " from sea to sea, and from the river to the ends of the earth." Of course you do not mean to exclude any portion of your own countrymen-certainly not the humblest and most orpressed portion. Surely you do not mean to let the poorest of the poor—the people that do not begin to own any thing of this world's goods-and made so poor not by any neglect or improvidence or crime of their cwn-to the number of two or three millions, rise up against you in the judgment and say, "No man cared for our souls!" No, you enter into the Savior's plan and care for all. You say His gospel must be preached to all. You are sending men to preach it even to the Burmans and

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the Chinese—to the people that are sitting under the death-shadow of despotism. If potentates and pontiffs oppose, you regard them as resisting the work of God; as usurping the authority of the king of kings. You do not feel yourselves bound by their mandates. You would resort to any lawful means of overthrowing their power to make room for the Gospel.

But what if we prove to you that the Christian-called republic of which you are a component part, brbids the Gospel to be preached to two and a has millions of your own native born countrymen, for the purpose of more conveniently depriving them of their wages? Will you think that you have nothing to do with it? Will you thank God for your own dear liberty, and your own blessed christianity, and sit down and let one sixth part of your countrymen live and die in slavery and heathenism? You pray that your Savior's chariot of salvation may roll over all high roads and by-roads; and won't you take the blocks out of the path? In the Southern States, you will presently see, it

has come to a dead stand. Will you say it's of no use to try to clear out such a road—the chariot must go some other way?

Perhaps you have been told that the slaves have the Gospel, or may have it, as freely as if they were free. It is but a year or two since the Southern Religious Herald told its readers that it was confident "that there is no race or class of men any where on the face of the earth, as favorably situated for bringing gospel truth to bear on them, as the slaves in the United States. Any change in their civil condition would in this respect operate to their disadvantage." And it is but a few weeks since we saw a similar statement copied from a southern religious paper into the Philadelphia Observer, without note or comment.

We wish to call your attention to some documents published in the *Greenville*, (S. C.) Mountaineer. They will show what prospect there is of evangelizing the slaves while they remain slaves. With all that has been done to disarm the Gospel of its terrors—the justifying of slavery by the Bible—the slaveholding ministry—the *oral* instruction—the

obsequiousness to the master—it is still terrible to slaveholders. "Intelligence and slavery," they say, "have no affinity for each other." They want not a glimmering of gospel light, lest by it their slaves should find their way to liberty.

The Methodist Episcopal Conference of South Carolina, it seems, had established some missions among the slaves, of the most unexceptionable sort, which were beginning to attract the attention of the poor colored population. No sooner did they so, than they began to be opposed. The Rev. William Wightman, a professor we believe in a Methodist Theological Institution, took up their defence, and, in a sermon preached at a Camp Meeting in Abbeville District, though he abjured abolition and declared that slavery was "no moral evil," mortally offended the slaveholders by the freedom with which he spoke of them and their duties to the black part of his audience. A committee was raised among his hearers who replied to him through the newspapers. He rejoined through the same channel. We refer to this contro-

versy because it casually brings out the estimation in which pro-slavery preachers are held by the slaveholders themselves. Mr. Wightman, it seems, had said that he would "readily grant deference to their judgment in the case of a bet on a horse race, in selling rum, or in negro-trading," but he thought that in regard to the ministry and missions his own judgment was preferable. The slaveholders did not fail to take advantage of this putting of negro-trading on the "catalogue of vices." They show clearly that negrotrading is but a natural and necessary consequence of holding negroes as slaves; and thus taunt their clerical opponent:-

"The Reverend gentleman may reconcile his condemnation of "negro-trading," with his view that slavery is not "a moral evil," and thus place his topsy-turvy deportment in a conspicuous light. We suspect, however, if a great many poor young men, who are disposed to rise into notice, could meet an opportunity, like the Reverend gentleman himself, of feathering his nest, they would be willing to "trade" themselves for beautiful

and accomplished wives, with handsome portions of negro property in addition. A great many individuals would cheerfully dispense with "negro-trading," as done in the usual way, on such easy and accommodating terms. This kind of fortune hunting, this way of trading oneself for negroes, when accompanying a wife, no doubt the Reverend gentleman considers good, sound, practical morality. The Reverend gentleman seems to exult in telling us that there were in attendance a score or two (of negroes) belonging to his 'father-in-law,' who heard his Cokesbary Address."

Now men of whom the slave-masters can truly say what is here said, or what is equivalent to it, are the only men who can preach the gospel at all to the slaves, and we shall see in the following documents how even they are opposed.

Now, brethren, carefully read these documents, and then answer before God whether the slaves have the gospel preached to mem, and whether they can have, till slavery itself is overturned. Ask yourselves whether you

are not responsible, to the extent of all your lawful, moral and political power, to remove this stumbling block from the gospel's way. Whether you are preparing to meet these two and a half millions of American brethren at the judgment bar. We publish the documents precisely as they stand in the Greenville Mountaineer of November 2d, 1838, names and all, except that the italicising is our own.

ABBEVILLE, DIST. S. C. OCT. 10, 1838. Mr. Editor—We requested you to publish a Remonstrance which was prepared and ina Remonstrance which was prepared and intended for publication during the life-time of the late Rev. Mr. Turpin; but we were advised to address him privately, previous to its publication, as it might produce the desired effect without getting into a newspaper controversy. In conformity with this advice, the Rev. Mr. Turpin was privately addressed; and we understood at one time, that he had yielded to our request; but we heard just previous to his death, that he intended continuing his Missionary labors. When we heard of his death, we were then disposed to drop the publication of the Remonstrance, as we hoped the S. C. Conference, being advised of our opposition, would not impose another Missionary upon us, without our consent or approbation. Here, in all probability, the agitation would have been settled, if it had not been for some personal, insolent, snameful and indiscreet remarks, delivered by the Rev. Wm. Wightman, on the 4th of August, at a Methodist Camp Meeting held at Cokesbury, vented at those who were opposed to the course pursued by the late Missionary among us. We are also informed in a recent communication from the Rev. Mr. Wightman, that we "interfered rudely with wighthan, that we interfered ready with the private rights of citizens of the State," in causing a "violent opposition" to the Missionary dynasty. This is palpably false; for we never "interfered rudely" with those who patronised the Missionary. We present the private letter for publication which was handed to the late Rev. Mr. Turpin. We leave it to the public to determine, if the contents of the letter, or the handing it, without a single uncourteous remark, can be construed into rudeness. We admit that the Rev. Mr. Turpin knew the general opposition of the people in this section of country to the operations of Home Missions to Slaves among us, and those who patronised him likewise knew this general opposition. It seems, though, that we are not allowed the privi-lege to think for ourselves, but must submit to a dictation. The opposition to the late Home Mission among us, composes the great body of the people, while those who were

disposed to yield their support to it, embrace but a few citizens. We have no faith in the doctrine, let it be urged by whom it may, that a few citizens shall arbritrarily rule the interests of a large body of the people.

WILLIAM EDDINS,
JOEL SMITH,
JAMES S. POPE,
JOHN McLENNAN,
HENRY R. WILLIAMS.

CAMBRIDGE, June 14, 1838.

The Rev. Mr. Turpin:

Sir:—The undersigned have been requested by a portion of the community to inform you that the course which you are pursuing, as missionary to the black population, is quite unpopular in this section of country. We anticipate evil consequences from the continuance of such a course. We are fully convinced that you will not be sustained in persisting in your missionary labors. We therefore hope, for the sake of peace among us, that you will immediately desist in your present occupation.

Yours respectfully,
J. C. Patterson,
Stanmore Brooks,
William Eddins,
Lames S. Pope.

## REMONSTRANCE.

To the Rev. Mr. Turpin:

Sir :- A portion of the citizens of the districts of Abbeville and Edgefield are informed that you have been nominated a missionary ed that you have been nominated a missionary by the S. C. A. Conference, to preach to the black population especially. It seems that you assemble the negroes at places which you regularly appoint, where you give them a course of exclusive and especial instruction on religious subjects; and, if invited, you attend negro quarters, where you give similar instruction and teach the Catechism; but if not invited, you ask this permission. We conceive it our duty to address the remonstrance to you, explaining the impropriety of such a course. It is somewhat strange, when abolition has been denounced with such bitter invective and unsparing language by the public press, by our statesmen in the Legislature and in Congress, by the Gover-nors in their annual messages, and by an overwhelming majority of the people of this State, that a home mission to slaves should now be advocated and patronised among us, by certain individuals.

We are told that the instruction you give is oral: but if our apprehensions do not deceive us, we regard the toleration of this instruction as the foundation of the corner stone of a sustem on which will be built the su-

perstructure of abolition; we look in anticipa-tion to the time, if home missions to slaves should be generally approved, that a stepping stone will be acquired on oral instruction, for a higher grade of mental improvement, in order to facilitate religious instruction. We have no security, that permission to give oral instruction will be the last favor craved. Verbal and lecturing instruction will increase a desire with the black population to learn. We know upwards of a dozen negroes in the neighborhood of Cambridge, who now read, some of whom are members of your societies at Mount Lebanon and New Salem. Of course, when they see improvement encouraged, they will supply themselves with Bibles, hymn books and catechisms, particularly when they can be purchased for a trivial sum. The ambition of those who cannot read will be aroused to emulate those who can, and with opportunities thus at command to learn, we must infer that the progress and diffusion of knowledge will be a consequence. Open the missionary sluice, and the volume of its troubled current will swell in its gradual onward advance. We thus expect that a progressive system of improvement will be introduced, or will follow from the nature and force of circumstances, if not checked, (though they may be shrouded in sophistry and disguise) that will ultimately revolutionize our civil institutions.

The legislature, from time to time, has passed several restricted and penal acts, with a view to bring under direct control and subjection the destiny of the black population. Parts of these acts even now will become unavailing and obsolete, if these home missions to slaves shall meet with general encouragement and patronage from the people of this state. The legislature should repeal such offensive and repugnant parts, if public opinion shall thus indicate its consent, as their execution can no longer be desirable. But we hope that South Carolina is yet true to her vital interests, and that she will not only resume, but ests, and that she will not only resulte, but enforce the power necessary to secure the prospect of internal quiet within her borders. The legislature is a representative body of the people of the whole state, and to this source of power we must look for the maintenance and protection of our common interests.

We will take another view of the subject, showing the dangerous tendency to the peace of the white community, of permitting black congregations to assemble alone for religious purposes. We will select two insurrectionary movements for illustration:—

The first we shall mention occurred in the city of Charleston, we think in the year 1822. The citizens manifested a disposition of the liveliest sympathy towards the black population, in allowing them the privilege to hold

prayer meetings, and to establish a church of their own, where they had separate worship. They assembled on such occasions under the pretence of devotional exercises, and concorted a plot for the massacre of the white population of the city of Charleston. Mock interments at their burying ground, with funeral ceremony, were performed, but the coffins which were interred, instead of inclosing the dead, were filled with military materials for an insurrection. The plan of attack was consummated, and every preparation made for the arrival of the appointed hour. A few days previous to the concerted time, the conspiracy was disclosed.

The second we shall bring to view, occurred in the state of Virginia, in the year 1831. This insurrection likewise originated from indulgence extended to the black population to assemble together for their separate religious devotion. The master spirit of this insurrection was Nat Turner, a Baptist preacher by profession, who had previously sustained an exemplary character, and who, with his black accomplices, seized upon a favorable opportunity, and began the work of destruction by burning the dwellings and murdering the white population; but the in-

surrection was early arrested.

These warnings should admonish us not to slumber in listless security, while we have such domestic institutions that require our

constant and vigilant attention. It is our duty as sentinels of the public welfare, to stand upon the watch-tower and sound the alarm when we see the dark speck of the distant cloud rising in the horizon, portending a destructive tempest. It is too late to seek shelter when the hurricane is sweeping over us. We are opposed to an intermeddling on the subject of slavery. We doubt not that you the subject of slavery. We doubt not that you will inform us, that you are opposed to abolition, and that you are not disposed directly or indirectly to encourage the movements of the abolitionists, and that you have promised to confine your instruction to the black population on religious subjects. We reply that your motives in giving such religious instruction to the black population may be pure, but the critis likely to arise from such home mission or missions, as we have already noticed in part, may be of such magnitude as to diminish the prospect of their beneficial results.

The circumstance of your meetings being intended for the exclusive and especial instruction of the black population, will make your appointments their principal places of resort. Some of the negroes will attend your meetings for religious improvement; others from idle curiosity; and a few of the more daring and intelligent with restless spirits, to impart to each other every whisper that reaches them of the progress of abolition, and the growing prospects of their liberation. Such inter-

course will give them facilities to collect all such information aftoat in the country. Negroes living upwards of thirty miles apart, have intentionally assembled at New Salem, one of your places of appointment. The privilege being granted the negroes to assemble together distantly, and the congregations principally black, will give them opportunities to communicate freely with each other and embody their richty of the westernment of any let. They views on the consummation of any plot. They might plan arrangements again dangerous to the peace of society. Though they have been frustrated in every insurrectionary attempt, yet they may be again deluded. They have ventured on chances gloomy and unpropitious, and we must judge of the future by the past. When the last census was taken, the black population exceeded the white upwards of sixty-one thousand five hundred. This is a startling fact, which should induce us to be cautious in the intellectual advantages which we extend to the black population. We consider the common adage true, that "knowledge is power," and as the colored man is enlightened, his condition will be rendered enlightened, his condition will be rendered more unhappy and intolerable. Intelligence and slavery have no affinity for each other. We know that we have the power at present (if let alone) to keep the negroes in subordination; and it will be an exercise of wisdom to make a judicious use of it, for strict discipline is mercy to them. The point questioned and tacitly yielded to-day, is taken as a precedent to-morrow, and invasion succeeds. The white people who have the inclination or curiosity, are permitted to attend your meetings: but at one of your first meetings at New Salem, you requested only a few of the gentlemen to attend, as you designed your instruction for the black population. A preference of seats next to the pulpit is given to the blacks. You have requested white ladies and gentlemen to retire from the front seats next the men to retire from the front seats next the pulpit. The old negro man, whose head is white with age, has never witnessed a preference before; this is a novel sight, which must be exhibitating to hisfeelings, and prompts him to raise his thoughts to look through the vista which will terminate his bondage. The intention of your meetings being known, and a preference given in the accommodation of seats, will induce the white people to relax in their attendance. Indeed, we have been told that at some of the meetings, in some sections their attendance. Indeed, we have been told that at some of the meetings, in some sections of the State, the missionary is the only white man present on such occasions. You may be faithful in the discharge of your duties, in the responsible station you occupy toward the slaveholder; yet you may be succeeded in your mission by a missionary who might entertain a different opinion with you in regard to emancipation; and possessing your opportunities, might inculcate seditious sentiments, hazardous to our peace and interests. If he was a hypocrite (and that good book, the Bible, informs us of the hypocrisy of men, without adducing our experience and observation in evidence) he would conceal his views of abolition from the public, but propagate them clandestinely on suitable and appropriate occasions.

We consider these negro missions in embryo, though we are informed that fourteen missionaries are now in service; but we look to the period when there will be a sufficient increase in number to penetrate every neighborhood and visit every negro quarter in the State. If these home missions to slaves shall become thus universally popular in South Carolina, some of us may live to see the period that such an impulse will be given from such missions towards emancipation, that emancipation will follow as a matter of expediency and necessity. The negro property which the parent is now toiling to accumulate, may prove valueless to his children.

We do not now charge the great body of the advocates of these home missions to slaves with the intention of promoting abolition; but we think that these missions, if permitted to increase, will ultimately have such a tendency. Indeed, we do not think that a reasonable abolitionist could desire a more auspicious commencement, from present appearances, for the promotion and attainment of his object, as he must now see the zealous anxiety so striking-

ly displayed for the interest and welfare of the black man which must have an effect, from the system of oral instruction pursued, to enlighten his mind and improve his temporal condition. There may be abolitionists now among us, who dare not avow their principles, and who express their opinions with caution in regard to encouraging such religious in-struction, but if these missions shall increase in popular repute, will become emboldened to give a more full expression of their views, and speak with more confidence of the kind and speak with more confidence of the killa treatment and privileges that should be extended to the black population. A man can pursue any particular train of thinking or occupation until it may amount to a passion. We should think that even a missionary to the blacks, who might be opposed to abolition on beginning to discharge the duties of his mission, might be liable, from the nature of his em-ployment, to change his opinion, when all his thoughts, words, and actions, feelings and sympathies, are enlisted in one cause and running in one channel. No doubt the design of these home missions to slaves was intended originally for the best of purposes; but it may be an easy transition, at some future day, for a perversion to be made of them.

We regret that it was thought necessary to plant the missionary standard in this section of country, when it was pervaded, nearly seven years ago, with considerable alarm from the apprehension of an insurrection. From evidence satisfactorily obtained, one negro was hung, another severely flogged, and others were accused. At that time, in the neighborhood of Cambridge, there were three black preachers, one of whom had supported a good character for at least forty years, who were in the habit of preaching occasionally to black congregations, but from suspicious indications were ordered to desixt from halding tions were ordered to desist from holding tions were ordered to desist from holding meetings; since which time, all such congregations have been suppressed, until the recent commencement among us of the missionary era. We cannot see any real necessity to appoint meetings in this part of the country for the exclusive and especial instruction of the black population; when churches are established in every neighborhood, and ample provision generally made in their construction to accommodate them with seats. The necessity has been reightly and the provision and the provision are provided the provision and the provision are provided to the province provided to the province provided to the province provided to the provided to the province province provided to the province province provided to the province provided to the province provided to the province province provided to the province provinc groes who have been raised among us have had opportunities of attending church, and of listening to the precepts of the Gospel delivered from the pulpit from their childhood; and we do not know a single slaveholder who is in the habit of preventing his slaves from going to church on Sunday, but on the contrary, the propriety is frequently inculcated on them. It is not uncommon for the preacher on such occasions to address a suitable portion of his discourse to this population par-ticularly. This instruction is then given be-

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fore the usual white audience of the church. If any injudicious or untimely remark should escape, every white person can become a censurer. This has been a custom since our recollection. We have heard no murmuring against this course. The negroes are permitted to join the churches when their deportment is considered worthy. We prefer that old customs, which we know to be safe from experience, shall continue, and trust that the laws, which have been passed for our benefit and safety, will be faithfully executed. In order that you shall know the public opinion on this subject in this section of country, we hereunto sign our names.

James S. Pope Pleasant Burnett, Jr. B. Reams H. Morris E. Holloway G. Reams E. Attaway Obed Morris Wm. Rowe F. Ross Robert Williamson Daniel Proctor Hv. Riddle G. W. Howle P. M. Howle J. T. Forlens

Carter Burnett E. Perkison J. Reams Wiley Morris J. E. Rowell Robert Burns D. G. Burnett J. Mathews J. Rotton Simeon Attaway W. N. Moore John Walton Thomas Payne

Reuben Cooper

Wm. Mc Kineely

C. H. Mathews

D. H. Jones Pleasant Burnett, David W. Holloway Sampson Christie James Dorn Drury Mathews Henry R. Williams D. E. Davenport William May William Adams A. P. King J. W. Wimbish Amasa Mav Marshal Thompson Elbert Stevens Henry Cockrost Wm. L. Rotton Matthew Corley  ${f Wm}$ . Culbreath Asa Fowler Azariah Rice Welles Mars John Mav Willis Rotton G. W. Holloway John Mims John McGower Thomas H. Chappel James H. West William B. Smith Wm. P. Andrews John N. Sample

Freeman Martin J. A. Berry Benjamin Stevens Elihu Stevens Richard Hasel Joel Walton Morris Fowler Asa May Alexander Howle Thomas B. Harvey John Presley William Thompson Toliver Bradfield James Bradfield James McCreles Wiley Culbreath R. M. Todd Sampson Sullivan Lewis Holloway S. O. Sullivan Abram P. Poole J. W. Cain Daniel Carter Wm. Mathews John McClennan Patrick Heffernan Jonathan Norrell Madison Bailey Mathew Mays Felix Rogers William Lyles J. W. Boazman

J. H. Wilson Wm. Eddins William H. Griffin Frederick Logan J. McCracken Wade Shuttlesworth J. W. Child N. C. Golding Joel Smith L. G. Carter Robert Child Wm. S. Williams David Wood John Relly James C. Ray Stanmore Brooks Hardy Clark L. J. White T. J. Henderson Benjamin Sale Win. D. Partlow Lemuel Bell Richmond Still Mathew Mathews C. J. Cooper J. W. Trotter Wiley Ross Willis Ross Simpson Mathews James Mathews, Sen. Swansy Wier Wm. Andrews Jesse Culbreath

John Deen John Culbreath A. T. Abney Edward Culbreath J. M. Norrell Richard Hagood John Dorn, Sen. James Smyly Samuel McCrary John S. Jones J. O. Nicholson S. W. Nicholson John S. Jeter C. J. Glover Wm. J. Simkins J. H. Harrison B. J. Ryan Robert Lofton George Sheppard T. H. Loveless Sherry Covar Wm. Forrest Mastin Rowe Charles Carter, Sen. Charles Carter, Jr. John Carter, Jr. Wm. C. Burns Wm. Whitley John Riley Stephen Whitley Wm. Butler

E. Davis Joseph Foster Wm. B. Arnold Wiley Pulliam D. Calhoun Robert Buchanan Joseph Wardlaw William Carter Charles Hagood Simcon Chaney John Day Daniel Dav Henry Cheatham Wesley E. Cantrell Zebedee Cheatham Philip Weir Simson Harris John B. Moon Robert Cheatham, John Waller Edmund Brown John Hughey A. T. Logan Sampson V. Cain H. W. Wardlaw James Jones Benjamin Conolly John Christic Robert Chany Meredith W. Payne Wm. L. Steel Joshua Wyman

John S. Black Jonathan Johnson Henry Johnson John Forshe Peter Cheatham Wm. Saddler Willis Saddler Aaron Pinson Elihu Campbell Elihu Burges Wesley Turner Chesley Pitts Thomas Turner , Thomas Brooks T. J. Dutler Daniel Brooks Leroy Day David Hardin Elmsley Biel Samuel F. Good James Sheppard James J. Still Jesse Rambo Camei Clegg H.J. Kemp John B. Hamilton Shurley Whatley Lemuel Brooks John G. Slappy Joshua Davis Samuel Stevens Robert Hasting

J. W. Coleman Ephraim Andrews John Dorn John L. Cheatham Charles C. Burnett Joseph C. Patterson Oliver Bradfield Benjamin Holt W. E. Caldwell, M.D. Temple Hargrove Thomas J. Burnett Joseph N. Wardlaw John B. Rountree James Robertson John W. Moore Wilson Kemp John Partlow, Sen. Wiley Kemp M. P. Holloway A. Jackson Goulden John W. William James Cheatham Thomas Wait Wm. Adams Goody McManus John McClennan William Adams Wm. Arnold M. Corley James Collins J. A. Williams John Smith James Holland John Sims Wm. Brunson Stephen Jones, Jr. Joel Roper Rial Jones J. Cogburn James Long A. B. Addison Waid Sheppard Charles W. Fooshe H. Burt G. H. Down Joel Fooshe F. M. Nicholas R. Pulliam M. T. Stewart Chas. A. Meigs H. Huffman, Sen. Branton Owen W. Carrel James Hill William Mounce James H. Richardson Wiley Holloway Jno. Saddler Moses Carter John S. Pinson

[The remaining seventy names omitted for want of room in this tract.]